1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

412 pots. Fermented drinks are often stirred with a shoulder blade of the manatee, peixe-boi. For *mingau*, a sweetened gruel, there is always a little swizzle stick made of arrow cane with a small cross of sticks lashed transversely to the end of the shaft.

415 The Tukuna still use three types of "primitive" containers. One consists of the outer shell of the *saxupeia* nut in its original form. Another is made from the spatulate end of the frondstalk of the *enajá* palm, which has the shape of an oval basin with noticeably raised edges; nothing is done to this either, to prepare it for use. A third is made from the leaf sheath of the *açaky* palm,* which is folded into the shape of a small, flat, rectangular box, about a half meter long, the folds being secured with two small, wooden spits.

412 .501

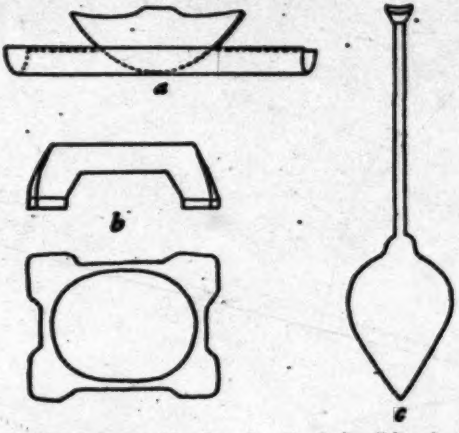

Fig. 4. Wooden objects. *a*. Quiricá or rocking board, × 1/20. *b*. Small bench, × 1/10. *c*. Paddle, × 1/20.

417 252 By the side of the kitchen fire one invariably sees a portable rack, *moquem*, for drying meat, made of three poles, each 1.5 m. long, tied together at the upper ends so as to form a tripod (kɔ'ya-čik|ra', jaw of alligator), between the legs of which the grill is tied. Any meat or fish to be dried is placed on this grill, which is then set over the fire or, if this is occupied, any handy kindling is piled beneath the tripod. Only if there is a large quantity of game or fish is a fixed grill set up, in which case it rests upon four posts and two crossbeams (na:'/tam|ᵉ).

The spit is rarely used, and then only to roast bits of small game. In order to handle fish easily on the grill the Tukuna press it between two prongs of a flat strip of wood, something like a pair of pincers. The prongs are passed through the fish's mouth and gills, and the ends are tied together just forward of the tail. Frogs, toads, Coleoptera larvae, shrimp, and small fry are placed on the grill wrapped in leaves, forming small packages tied at both ends.

412 Contrary to what Tessmann says,* the Tukuna do not use the mortar, though it does appear in their legends as an object used by demons. For it the Tukuna substitute a rocking-board (tau/ta'-činᵉç'ᵉ; l.g., *quiricá*) of half-moon shape made

[773]

* *Euterpe edulis*; also, *assahy*, *palmito doce*. The heart of this palm is eaten.
* Tessmann, *loc. cit.*

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

III. SUBSISTENCE

Agriculture

241 [226] Agriculture and fishing are the principal sources of Tukuna economy. If forced to, the Tukuna will go for some time without collecting wild fruits or hunting; but the complete lack of garden products and fish simply spells misery to them.

[462] [476] The garden patch, cleared and burned out of the virgin jungle, is as a rule made exclusively by the men, often in a communal work party, *ujurí;* but some widows, without masculine aid, clear the land and plant in the *capoeira* or secondary jungle growth. Both sexes pile up the rubbish and burn it, whereas planting is carried [462] out exclusively by women and girls. The original instrument for felling trees was [442] the stone ax, whose appearance no one now remembers, but which, according to legend, the culture hero dyoi' stole from the demon toi"ta [tu|"'ta] (see page 131).

The four species of major importance for the Tukuna are bitter manioc, *mandioca brava* (*Manihot utilissima*), sweet manioc, *macaxera* (*M. aipi*),[1] maize, and yam, *cará* (*Dioscorea* sp.).[2] Lacking any one of these four, the Tukuna have a bad time of it, whereas the absence of other edible tubers, such as the sweet potato, and of other plants like sugar cane, pineapple, peanut (*manduví*),[3] and so on, affects them very little.

According to legend, a solitary old woman discovered both the tree which fur- [773] nished macaxera-like fruits and the art of making manioc flat cakes, beijús. On learning the secret, the men felled the tree and ate up everything; only Deer kept shoots and seeds in a basket (vatu') of which the culture hero dyoi' later robbed him (see p. 131). For this reason the Tukuna refer to a cultivated plant as a pre-Columbian possession by saying that "it first came in Deer's vatu'."

[777] Formerly, only sweet manioc was known to them; apparently bitter manioc and the process of making manioc flour were introduced by the Neobrazilians.

[442] In planting either variety of manioc, a woman goes ahead, armed with a long, heavy, rounded stake of wood with a sharpened point (about 140 cm. by 7 cm.), with which she makes holes in the ground, a female companion trailing behind to insert the plant slips into the prepared soil. This stake (paye'|"ù), when not in use, is kept under water near the entrance to the house or clearing, so that it will not dry out and lose weight. It is removed and dried off only on the eve of planting.

243 [773] Maize was not "in Deer's vatu'" but, according to legend, was given to the Indians by aria'na, a great coquette of the upper world, who brought it with her from one of the lower worlds, where she was once forced to sojourn against her will. (See p. 112.)

[462] The planting of maize, done preferably by men, is accompanied by a certain ceremoniousness that is not observed for any of the other plants. The kernels are placed first of all in a gourd of water. The planter then takes a little of this water in his mouth and sprays it over the kernels in order to make them more savory.

243 784 Until the plants reach a certain height he must submit to rigorous taboos. He cannot go near the fire, or eat or even touch the following fish: pirarucú (*Arapaima*

[1] Commonly known in Brazil as *aipi*.—Trans.
[2] A tuber also known as *inhame*.—Trans.
[3] *Arachis hypogaea;* commonly known as *amendoim;* T., tə"tʃ.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

the wild state by the first men, who raised them in their houses. Even today the Tukuna raise very few chickens, since they dislike their dirtying up the house or yard. Their forefathers had an aversion to the flesh but ate the eggs. Of the present generation no one refused to eat chicken with me, but in general they raise them only for sale to the Neobrazilians.

The plague of blood-sucking bats forces the poultry raisers to keep their wards almost always locked up at night in well-closed henhouses. These are generally conical in shape; one that I saw even had a veranda! Ducks, which are not very numerous, were recently introduced, as their name "pa'tu" (P., *pato*, duck) indicates.

With the exception of large mammals and birds of prey, the Tukuna occasionally raise at home the young of almost every species of wild animal that falls into their hands. These animals, all of which have the run of the place, generally stay only a short time in the possession of their original captors, since they are greatly sought after by the Neobrazilians. Others, upon becoming adult, turn wild or almost wild, coming and going at will from house to jungle and back again; they are given food, but no attempt is made to recapture them.

Every year, in the winter, the women and children are in the habit of raising the young of a marmoset called *leãozito* (little lion)[29] by the Neobrazilians. Sometimes two or three may be observed clinging to the hair of their mistress, who thus carries them wherever she goes, giving them masticated food from her own mouth. During the night she shelters them in a conical basket, woven in an openwork technique; it is suspended with the bottom down and is covered with tururí bark cloth, the round entrance being plugged up with a bit of rag. Although these tiny creatures cannot be raised outside this region, they are much coveted by civilized persons.

Fishing

Fishing is the principal occupation of the men, who rarely let a day pass without indulging in it. A boy is taught to fish, from childhood, accompanying his father in the canoe and maneuvering it at his command. Even at the age of six, both boys and girls pass long hours alone in the igarapé or igapó in the small canoes their fathers make for them. At the age of nine or ten many boys are already able to provide the household with the fish required.

The equipment consists of the fishhook, javelin, arrow, harpoon, and arrow-harpoon. According to Tessmann, bone fishhooks were formerly used. I did not succeed in getting data from my informants on this point. They were able to tell me only that in the old days the children used to fish for small fry with the mandibles of the *taóca* army ants (*Ecyton* sp.), called vɔ'/čata in Tukuna. If this is true, then the fish certainly must have been only very tiny and of no economic value.

However, the fishhook (pɔ'/va) figures in the legend of the culture heroes as the property of a demon much older than they (see p. 126). Nowadays the Tukuna do not go off in their canoes without taking one or more reeds with fishhooks of various sizes with which to experiment as soon as they arrive at a propitious place.

[29] Also called *leoncito*, *saguim leãozinho*, and *chichico* (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix).—Trans.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

411 ends are notched to receive the bowstring (vęra'-maa'ⁱ°), which was formerly made of bromelia but is nowadays of tucum fiber. Since it has never been used much for fishing and today is not much used in hunting, the bow is being abandoned. The arrow (kɯ:'ru) is made of canna brava. Its total length is 162 cm.; the length of its four-tined point, 9 cm. It is poisoned with curare and kept in a sheath of bamboo (taboca). Its feathering, in the form of a bridge, is tangential (*Stegfiederung*). Today it is completely obsolete.

There were formerly three types of spear, of which two are still in use today. The first was a throwing spear, va:ma'gu, of paxiubinha, 263 cm. long. The poisoned tip, 16 cm. long, looked like an arrow point and, like the arrow point, was protected by a bamboo sheath. In 1929 I saw these spears still in use, but by 1941 they no longer existed. With the second type, dë, the Tukuna still hunt wild pigs. It is a thrusting spear some 236 cm. long, a simple staff of *marajá* wood (*Bactris* sp.), the point being produced by removal of an oblique slice from one end. The third type is even shorter, a pole, dɔ'ča, which nowadays has an iron point. It is used in hunting jaguars (onças) brought to bay by hounds.

231 Dogs, T., airu' (a'i, spotted jaguar, l.g., *onça pintada*), are found in nearly all the houses, but most of them are worthless for the chase, so that a hunter prefers to leave them at home. According to the Tukuna, dogs are pre-Columbian, the first having been mysteriously borne by an Indian woman.

224 *Traps.*—Formerly the Tukuna knew a number of aboriginal types of traps, most of which fell into disuse after the Indians learned how to make booby traps with firearms. One of these early traps, called "vaⁱpara'ne," which was set up over a deer or tapir run, consisted of two strong but elastic logs, tied together vertically on a horizontal beam at a height sufficient to permit the animal to pass beneath. When the trap was set, the two logs were bent in such a way that the ends were spread apart to the sides of the trail at just the right height. The quarry, passing under the horizontal beam, would spring the trap, the two logs snapping against the animal's flanks. Since each log had three spikes on the inner surface, the game was severely wounded as well as tightly held.

For agouti (l.g., cutía) the Tukuna use even today a type of trap known as *mundé* (deadfall)—or, in Tukuna, yęta'—under which the victim is directed by two brush fences.

For small animals accustomed to running about on the ground, the Tukuna make an enclosure in the jungle sometimes a hundred meters long, and with various openings, behind each of which they set a noose. This fence appears in one legend [773] of the culture heroes (see p. 126) and also in the tale of the seller of a songbird, *sabiá* (p. 154).

Another type of trap for catching *macucáuas* (*Tinamus* sp.), rats, and agoutis consists of a baited lasso at the end of an elastic pole (trip noose) bent over to the ground in the middle of a circular enclosure with one opening (bɯ:'rëë). With [223] other traps they catch doves and pigeons by setting a burden basket so that one side is slightly raised, with the bait below. In 1929 I observed a rattrap in the form of a small box with a trip door; I suppose, with Tessmann, that this variant was [177] introduced through contact with the Neobrazilians.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

Clothing

In general the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo-brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes, some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best conditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loincloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark."[1] According to Tessmann, the men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Ficusbastzeug*). Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'pi*: "He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire.... With this his penis was shaken up. tĕ̈ĕ̈arɨnʊɨ' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *ceremonias da passagem* (pl. 12, *m*). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark round the waist."[2] In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is completely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins."[3] The plate in the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrigues' illustration[4] the Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they cover the sexual parts."

[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrigues, Ticunas, p. 53.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

Adult Games

527 526 According to my informants, the feasts were not formerly—as they are today—dedicated exclusively to ceremonies, dances, and drinking bouts, for someone would always recite legends and historical traditions to the company, and the guests would gather in the yard for social games. I have found vestiges of the former custom but have never seen Tukuna adults playing games. I was told that the last person to promote such games was a curing shaman of reputation in the Igarapé da Rita, named Romão, who died in 1936.

526 There were three social games: a ball game, *peteca* (pɔ:'/tẽ), hoop and stick (nai*pẽnj*, hoop), and tug of war. The peteca, from which the first game takes its name, is a ball stuffed with dried maize shucks, which is batted into the air with the palm of the hand, great care being taken that the ball does not fall to the ground. The players, all men, form a circle. Tessmann denies that the Tukuna played ball games, but though I have never seen one, I have myself picked up balls that had been thrown into a corner after a game.

The second game is played with hoops of elastic cipó about a half meter or more in diameter, and sticks as thick as one's finger and about one meter long. The players face each other at a distance of some thirty paces, and one throws the hoop vertically to the ground in the direction of his opponent, who catches it with his stick as it bounces high in its course. In South America the Serénte of Goyaz have the same game.[7]

The tug of war is also mentioned by Tessmann. The men divide into two teams, which try to vanquish each other by pulling the opposite ends of a long, thick piece of cipó. The Tukuna call this the "jaboti'" ("tortoise") game and say: "ńe'ia` kị ńabị' naẹ!" ("Let us play the jabotí"). The reference is to one of the episodes of the well-known cycle of Jabotí legends from the lingua geral. In [773] the Tupí tale, "The Yauti and the Caapura,"[8] Jabotí makes the pirahyba and the caapura contend with each other by pulling on a hammock cord. The Tukuna identified the Jabotí of these tales, previously unknown to them, with the mëta're of their own legends.

[7] Nimuendaju, The Serénte, p. 74.
[8] T. for jabotí.
[9] Tastevin, A lenda do jabutí, p. 419.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated. 304 614

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan čë'vë'ru, the name of a small kind of anahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurë' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna. 614

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe. [301] [532]

It is said that the members of the clan të'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyoi', after fishing, in the company of his brother e'pi, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ë' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value. [198] 614 619 793

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation. 551 614

Clan čiva'
(Beringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ʋanë'-k]	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	ʋanë', false; k], masc name suffix
♂ nu'ë'tʃ-k]	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ë'tʃ, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

616 Only one of my informants ever told me a version of the legend of man's creation,
●773 attributing the institution of moieties to the culture hero, dyoi'.

A great number of these people who were first fished for by dyoi' and e'pi were then thrown together helter-skelter, but dyoi' separated his to the east and those of e'pi to the west. [The episode of the institution of clans (see p. 129) follows.] Afterward, he made some marry others.

616 This version, however, is in accordance with the association of the two culture
773 heroes, as well as the moieties, with the east and west, respectively. For moiety A
881 the position of children and of girls at rites of passage, when prescribed, is always with the face to the east, and the girl's seclusion hut in the puberty ceremony is always placed—at least it was formerly—at the east wall of the house. Moiety B is oriented in the opposite direction. Thus, the men created by dyoi' and e'pi would be those of moieties B and A (*sic*) respectively,[1] but though men of both moieties deal with ta-na'tị ("Our Father"), I never found the slightest indication that some consider themselves the descendants of dyoi' and others those of e'pi, the former being always glorified to the disparagement of the latter.

616 In the puberty ceremony there are some significant differences between the two
881 moieties. Thus, the turtleshell drum, pɔ:'vi, is used exclusively by clans of moiety A, whereas the stamping tubes, ba:'/ma, and the bamboo horns, kɔ"'iri, belong to clans of moiety B. Lately, the stamping tube has been introduced into the ritual of the Japú and Maguary clans of moiety B, a practice which two of my informants held to be an unwarranted innovation.[2]

Exogamy

582 The tenacity with which the Tukuna respect their laws of exogamy even today,
835 their implacable liquidation of the transgressor, and the complete incomprehension
609 of this by the Neobrazilians, even the priests, are the most serious obstacles to frank promiscuity with the Neobrazilian population, and by preventing such promiscuity they efficiently contribute to the preservation of the tribe. The Tukuna regard the *civilizados*, among whom incest is not uncommon, with a certain contempt, not only because of Indian prejudice but also because the Brazilian law forbids incest, even though they attach no great importance to the law itself. A priest who eventually gives dispensation for the marriage of a man with the daughter of the man's own brother loses the Indians' respect, though a man's marriage with the daughter of his sister is a different matter.

835 Incest, vɔ:'mači,[3] includes not only carnal union between individuals of the same
773 moiety, but any disrespect shown the sex of a person in the prohibited degree of kinship, such as a simple, involuntary glance at the genitals. According to legend, the first person guilty of incest was e'pi, brother of the culture hero dyoi'. Desiring to take by force half of a royal hawk that his sister mɔva'ča had concealed between her knees, he touched her genitals. She was immediately transformed into a collared peccary (*taiŧetú*), but the demon ma/či' of the jaguar race killed her with

[1] There is a discrepancy here. According to the legend given above, dyoi"s people (moiety A) are oriented to the east, e'pi's (moiety B) to the west.—Trans.

[2] Another discrepancy! The ba:'/ma belongs to moiety B but is also a recent introduction.—Trans.

[3] "Confused flesh": vɔ:, a jumble of wood fibers entangled with a cipó or liana; ma:-mači, flesh.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

an arrow in the form of a hornet. She was revived by dyoi', who killed ma/či'. The spirit of ma/či' is in heaven today, where, as soon as the souls of the incestuous arrive, it assaults them. It is then that one hears the muted humming of the hornets of ma/či'.*

Incest is considered, in the first place, to be a sin against the goddess ta-ë', who, according to one version of the legend (p. 114) gave to the first men knowledge of their clans by means of jacuruxy broth, which she sent them from heaven. To a man guilty of incest she said: "Thou art corrupting the people!" and punished him in life with madness, giving him the soul of an animal. After death, when his soul succeeded in passing unharmed through the poles of the gate to/ri'ta and arrived at the house of ta-ë', she loosed upon him two monsters (čorë'ruma), which tore him to pieces.*

An incestuous act committed casually but not repeated is strongly censured and ridiculed, the guilty one being labeled an "e'pi," although this offense does not expose him permanently to collective scorn to the point of exclusion from social activities. After his death, ta-ë' will send the two čorë'ruma to lick his soul from head to toe, thus cleansing it of the sin it bears so that it may be received like any other soul.

Prolonged and public incest causes horror and repugnance, constituting a disgrace and intolerable shame for the relatives and, like similarly prohibited unions, may result in blood tragedies. A man named čiëë formed an incestuous alliance with the daughter of his paternal uncle and had several children by her. One day, when he had appeared at a celebration of one dya'iva, his nephew, the latter accused him to his face of the sin. In a fury čiëë threatened his nephew with a machete, but dya'iva killed him with one shot. His partner in incest fled with her offspring and was never seen again.

During my stay among the Tukuna of Igarapé Tacana in June, 1941, the following incident occurred. An Indian named Abilio murdered a woman and her suckling babe, "naturally" because of jealousy, said the Neobraziliana. The real reason, however, was this: Abilio's father-in-law, Joaquim tauaru' of the a'i clan, some fifty years old and several times a grandfather, began to maintain sexual relations with a daughter of his deceased brother. His wife and her son Moáca did everything to dissolve this union, but Joaquim tauaru' paid no attention to anyone, turning furious if anyone discussed the situation. As is the custom among Indians, the affair took a long time to reach the boiling point, which happened only after the girl had a child. It was then that Moáca and his mother, who had left the house in disgust and had fallen gravely ill, decided to put an end to this shameful state of affairs. As the offender's son, Moáca was loth to take action personally and so persuaded his brother-in-law, Abilio, of the same clan as Joaquim tauaru"s wife, to kill the girl and her infant. Abilio lured her to a secluded spot in the igapó, stunned her and the child with blows of his paddle and finished them off with his machete, tied the two bodies together, and threw them into the river. The bodies were discovered a little farther down, near the riverbank; the Indians immediately understood what had occurred, but their Neobrazilian boss in Belém also received

* See the legends, "The Dishonor of mova'ča," and "dyoi' and e'pi Kill the Demon ma/či'," pp. 124–125.

* See the legends relating to ta-ë', pp. 114–115.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tə̃'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

● [173] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyai'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as [177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tə̃'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom 648 their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto dauern'kị of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ẹvẽnị'kị of Igarapé da Rua, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tə̃'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

Weapons.—War weapons are the bow, vẹrə' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow, 411 kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va:'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tupe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by [127] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

under this treatment."[a] The upper platform is not full of smoke, for the Tukuna do not use the dwelling for cooking, and it is no dirtier than the rest of the house. No diet is prescribed; and, if one girl did die during this seclusion, her death was certainly not due to any cause related to it.

Herndon, after some relatively good information, continues: "It is said that she frequently conceals her situation from her family, preferring a sound beating, when time betrays her, to the dreary imprisonment."[b] Certainly, many civilized girls would act in the same way under the same conditions, but that a Tukuna girl would resort to similar expedients appears very improbable to me for the simple reason that, like her relatives, she considers seclusion a measure demanded by her delicate condition and promptly submits to it for fear of the evil consequences of some oversight. This cautious behavior is because the individual of either sex is believed subject, above all at the time of puberty, to extraordinary and supernatural experiences and to contact with immortals, ii'ne (see p. 137). The vərëkị is surrounded by invisible demons, ɲɔɔ' (see p. 89), so that any carelessness on the part of those responsible for her, primarily her mother and paternal aunt, or any negligence of her own may have the gravest consequences. Many stories illustrating this danger are told to the girl, as witness the following tales:

a) The puberty ceremony was drawing to a close. Just before midnight the paternal uncle insisted that the vərëkị be withdrawn from seclusion before waiting for the proper hour [before dawn; see p. 88]. He and the rest of the guests were already drunk. He no longer knew what he was doing. They brought down the vərëkị from the seclusion room but, instead of dancing with her until daybreak, they left her standing alone in the center of the house and, paying her no further attention, proceeded to get completely soused.

Then there arrived a demon, ɔ/mi' [a monster in the form of a gigantic lizard], which had taken the shape of a handsome youth. He danced with the vərëkị up and down the festive house, then outside in the yard, and finally carried her off to the forest, where there was a ruined old house, his dwelling. In this house there was still an old rocking-board [quiricá]. He placed the girl beside him in the trough [of the quiricá], sucked out her flesh and blood, and killed her.

When the assembled guests awoke from their drunken stupor, they immediately searched for the vərëkị, first in the seclusion room and then in the yard. Following the trail of hawk feathers with which she had been decorated, they finally found her at the bottom of the quiricá beside ɔ/mi', who had covered himself with the girl's toucan feathers.[c] When they lifted her up, her dry bones rattled inside her empty skin. They killed ɔ/mi', whose lizard feet were the size of a small bench, more or less [5 cm. in diameter].

b) The final rites of the puberty ceremony had started. In the feast house they were drinking, and no one, not even the mother, paid any attention to the vərëkị, who was still in the seclusion room. But instead of passing the night on foot, as tradition prescribes, the vərëkị lay down in her hammock and slept. Behold, a band of monsters in the shape of enormous black grasshoppers came and jumped over her, sucking out her flesh and blood. Finally, her mother, remembering the girl, thrust her hand through a crack in the wall of the seclusion room, shaking the edge of the hammock, and called: "Awake, my daughter!" With this, she heard the sound of dry bones rattling. Entering the room, she discovered that in the hammock lay only the skin of her daughter with the bones inside. The guests assembled at the feast searched the trail and discovered the crack through which the monsters had entered. They were still clinging to the outside wall of the house, bloated with their repast, and there they were all killed.

[a] Bates, p. 406.
[b] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:237.
[c] See the description of the girl's ceremonial costume.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881 e) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one
in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (giráu) all the smoked
● 773 game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vərẽkʲ observed a
539 smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up
and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to
warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and
in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vərẽkʲ told her what she had seen. The mother
went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with
ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I
believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following
morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 Formerly, a small room, na-piˀiˀ (pl. 11, *a*) was made for the girl as soon as
881 possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against
[616] the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two
meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vərẽkʲ sleeps in her
hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of
burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the
floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side
(looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from
[885] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods.
Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be,
because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not
permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work
[476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vərẽkʲ's moiety are
invited.

881 *Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins
may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work
parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the diffi-
culty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests;
[136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen,
[252] where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces
arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less re-
semble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of
[273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the
preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be
calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

881 *Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising
574 of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full
moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are pre-
ferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed
to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of
the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

881 Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vərẽkʲ's father
574 or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to
202 house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881 534 Before describing the performances, however, some explanation is necessary of the two elements that play such an important role in them—the ceremonial musical instruments and the masks.

The musical instruments.—We have already seen that the term "uarieána" serves to designate two quite different instruments, which share only their enormous length, their taboo character for women and children, and their almost wholly ceremonial use. One, the bu'/bu, is a conical horn made of a section of bark, rolled into a spiral; the other, the tə'/kị, is a wooden megaphone. Instruments of [171] the bu'/bu type are very common in the Amazon basin and in the region adjacent to the Guianas. The tə'/kị, in my opinion, has never been met with except among the Tukuna, for whom it is of the greatest importance, being the voice of a demon; whereas the bu'/bu is merely an accessory instrument.

881 532 534 The tə'/kị was formerly invariably accompanied by two statues of muirapiranga wood (T., pu'kịrẽ). Of those that I saw on the Rio Jacurapá, one was a little under, the other a little over, a meter in length and crudely made, but I was informed that in the old days they were the height of a normal man. Into these entered the shades of demons, who sang through the tə'/kị, with no one approaching it; there were no men players. In those times the instrument was painted with clay of various colors; neither it nor the statues were kept in water, but they were housed in a small, closed compartment within the dwelling. I did not succeed in learning the names of the personages represented by these statues. One person told me that the masculine statue was entered by the spirit of an ancient shaman of the Omágua, who had been slain by the Tukuna.

881 534 During the festivities, the tə'/kị and bu'/bu—there are always two or more of the latter—are brought to the enclosure each day after nightfall and are removed before dawn. The host selects an old man versed in the ritual to take care of these instruments, and also chooses other persons from among the guests, *ad hoc*, to transport and play them (tə'/kị-ñarị-pẽru'/ñ, player).[*] No society, nor even an individual (aside from the host), is permanently in charge of the uarieánas.

Each instrument is carried in a horizontal position on the shoulders of two persons, while behind them a third plays it once or twice during the procession. In front of the ceremonial instruments march two or three piston-flute (ñẽ'kutị) players (see p. 43), and a few beaters (kvaidu'/ị') armed with clubs, with which they run round the feast house and beat on the thatched covering, to frighten the women and children. The instruments are placed in the enclosure on forked sticks or sawhorses, with the mouthpiece at a convenient height and the bell turned toward the wall behind which the girl stays in seclusion. With some intermission, the bu'/bu and tə'/kị are blown all night. In the enclosure there is always a pot with drink for the players and also for the instruments themselves, for a gourdful is poured into their mouths as a libation.

881 534 773 The tə'/kị and bu'/bu were invented by the culture hero dyəi'. Each tə'/kị bears a name given it by its owner: that of dyəi' is called e:ta-vẽ ("Of the Star"). Other tə'/kị names are ẽẽa ("King Vulture," urubú rei), i'rava (urubú gereba), mai"a' ("Otter"), and so forth. First, dyəi' painted his instrument with *carajurú* (*Arrabidea chica*, Bur.), but an immortal counseled him to paint it with clay of

[*] The *p* in pẽru'/ñ is pronounced with incomplete closure of the lips, almost like *f*.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

different colors, for which he and dyəi' went out to search in a claybank at the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of the tɔ'/kị is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔɔ'ẽna reflects the implacable punishment by dyəi' of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

dyəi' was making ready his feast. He made the uariciána rise. Then tɔɔ'ẽna wished to see the uariciána of dyəi'. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uariciánas. She suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uariciána painting, she thought she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa'!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation, to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔɔ'ẽna. They cut her into quarters in the place of the uariciánas on the banks of the ə̃'varə̃ [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyəi' dwelt], and that is why the ə̃'varə̃ is the color of blood, because they quartered tɔɔ'ẽna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uariciána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔɔ'ẽna's flesh] to the feast. dyəi' summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyəi' painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyəi' called her soul [through the uariciána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uariciánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawegi'ne [name of dyəi''s house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of the uariciána, probably the bu'/bu, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct village of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the present Fonte Bôa).

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

[11] "Guarieuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brazil he is called a *tuixáua*.

.1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The costumes.—Tukuna costumes are not related to the ceremonial musical instruments. The costumes appear as often at the hair-plucking and ear-piercing ceremony as they do at the girl's puberty festival, but not at the hair-clipping ceremony or at the work parties. Not actually taboo, they are brought secretly to the festive spot, where all the owners meet in one or two places hidden in the jungle near the house. There the costumes are put on and are removed after the occasion. It is not in good taste for those who brought no disguise to the gathering to visit these spots; the owner and wearer of the costume should remain unknown until the moment he removes it, in the feast house, to hand it over to the host. On the whole, the costumes are entirely profane, and adults and children of both sexes seize the wearers by the back to accompany them in their races. Spix's plate shows two little girls holding on to the principal masqueraders by the fringes of the costume. 292

Use of the costume is the privilege of no specific person, society, or any other organization. The host of the feast, on issuing the invitations, asks anyone he wishes to bring his outfit. Whoever would like to oblige prepares a costume and face mask, the choice of design being entirely up to him; its execution is largely left to his imagination provided he respects certain traditional characteristics.

The generic name of the outfit is na:-rə̈'iʃ", a word which commonly means "tail" (of a mammal, reptile, or scorpion; na:-kʃra is the word used for the tail of a bird or fish), but actual tails are rarely used. Tessmann calls the mask costume "to'éro," a name (T., təʃ'-ëru) that designates only a certain type representing the demons of the clan təʃ' (*caiarára* monkey). I ascribe about 90 per cent of the costumes to men, 7 per cent to boys between eight and fifteen years old, and the remaining 3 per cent to girls and young women. Thus, the wearers of the two maize outfits shown in plate 17, *a* are a girl of ten and a woman of twenty.

A legend concerning the origin of costumes explains that they represent demons, ñɔɔ' (Marcoy gives mhoho; Ribeiro de Sampaio, hŏ hó; Spix, itoho; Martius, iticho). 292 773 539

a) In a cavern in the mountains there lived many demons (ñɔɔ'): ʊ'ma (the tempest), ma'vʃ (the *araparyrana* tree), təʃ' (caiarára monkey), the female demon bëru' (butterfly), whom the Tukuna identify with the Yurupari of the lingua geral, and the chief of them all, čerʃ'na. They wished to have a feast, and in order to obtain enough smoked meat they assaulted a Tukuna maloca one stormy night, killing all the inhabitants and dragging off the bodies to their cavern in order to eat them.

After some time the Indians of another maloca went to see their neighbors and, not finding anyone, followed the tracks of the corpses dragged off to the mountains. But as soon as they arrived near the cavern, the ñɔɔ' leaped out to seize them; however, they managed to escape and returned to their maloca. [For continuation, see *c*.]

b) A number of Tukuna went off to visit their countrymen who lived in va'i-a, at the headwaters of the Rio Cotuhé, a tributary of the Içá. Halfway through the journey, they found a shelter in which to spend the night. While they were camped there, a woman of the group gave birth; because of this event they resolved to remain a few days until she was in condition to accompany them farther. They went out to hunt, but found nothing and had to sleep hungry. In the darkness of the night they heard a gnawing sound. They surrounded and killed the rodent, which was an enormous paca.

All except the parturient and her husband ate of the meat, and on the following day they went out to hunt again, leaving the woman and her little child alone in the shelter. Suddenly she saw a ñɔɔ' in human shape approach, saying that the paca had been his son, whose death he came to

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

292 avenge. At midnight the ʔɔɔ′ would come, blowing a snailshell trumpet; those who had not eaten
● 773 of the paca's flesh must climb a certain species of tree, peeling the bark behind them.
539 When the hunters returned, the woman recounted to her husband what had occurred, but he answered that this was nonsense; perhaps an old lover had visited her. She then tried to warn her sister-in-law, who replied that she was obviously in a good humor because she had given birth to a male child. Her brother paid her no attention, either. Then, before nightfall, she tried to find a tree of the species stipulated by the ʔɔɔ′.

At midnight the ʔɔɔ′ left their mountain cavern, blowing "tĕu-tĕu" on their horns and each one yelling to his own taste. The woman immediately tried to awaken her companions: they did not move, even when she spilled dripping resin from a torch on them. She bit her husband to arouse him, and finally he followed like a sleepwalker. The two climbed up with the infant into the tree selected, peeling the bark behind them. Soon they heard the cries of the rest, who were all massacred by the ʔɔɔ′. At daybreak when the family returned to camp they found nothing of their companions except their hammocks. Then they returned to the maloca, where they told what had happened.

a) [Continuation of *a* and *b*] Conscious of disaster, the Tukuna, counseled by an old shaman, made a clearing exclusively for the planting of peppers. When the fruits were ripe, they gathered them and went to the cavern of the ʔɔɔ′. There they closed the entrance with stakes of paxiuba barriguda, leaving only one opening, where they lighted a great fire. Into this they threw an enormous quantity of peppers, so that the fumes would penetrate the cavern.

Soon a great racket arose from the interior; the Tukuna yelled inside for those among the ʔɔɔ′ who had not eaten human flesh to come out, and thus it happened: there appeared ʔerʲ'ne playing the tortoiseshell drum, which was his invention, preceded by a few other ʔɔɔ′ playing their bamboo horns (kɔ''iri). These were allowed to depart in peace, and they quickly entered another cavern close by, for another part of the underworld. Afterward, two bĕru′ [female butterfly demons] also approached the exit, lamenting and attempting to smother the fire with their enormously elongated breasts. Then they recalled their homes in the mountains, singing their names [see p. 13]. The female demon vaiʔiʲnavĕ also arrived, dripping wet as always, and fell upon the fire in order to put it out with the moisture from her body.

All the ʔɔɔ′ who had eaten human flesh, and whose masks for this reason bear even today a red stripe of urucú in front, died. When the noise within the cavern had ceased, the Tukuna ordered one of their servants of the Yágua tribe to enter; he did not return because some of the ʔɔɔ′ were still alive and killed him. They again smoked out the cavern, ordering another servant inside to verify the effect. This one walked around the cavern, observing well, and then came out to announce that all the ʔɔɔ′ were dead. The Tukuna contemplated the bodies carefully, noting all the details, and later copied the ʔɔɔ′ in their costumes.

292 The costumes are made from the *liber* [fibrous bark] of certain species of *Ficus*
287 (l.g., tururí), whose name in Tukuna is not "aichama," as written by Ribeiro de Sampaio and others following his lead, but, according to their quality, pëy], nu''ĕ'vĕ, or na'i''či. The first two species have a dark brown inner bark, but the third is white. A log some twenty centimeters in diameter and of the desired length is cut, and the inner and outer bark are removed by beating with a small, flattened muiraspiranga club that has no cutting edge. The bark is peeled off from the wood by being turned inside out, like a glove, ending up in the shape of a tube. Care is taken during this task lest the sun strike the section, which would make the inner bark brittle; for this reason some palm fronds are made into a shelter over the place of work. Also, the presence of children is not permitted, since this would [821] result in prolonged rains. The inner bark, which separates easily from the outer bark, is washed and stretched out to dry. Most of the time the tube is opened so as to form a rectangular piece, which is more easily worked, but a garment may also be made from the whole tube itself.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

would ensure a grand catch of fish. The following legend, "The Son of Timbó," concerns this ancient ceremony.

The relatives of the vərĕkị took her with them into the jungle in order to pull timbó for her bath. While so occupied they left her sitting on a nodular outgrowth of a timbó root, where she remained waiting the entire time while the relatives were busy in the timbó stand. Without having had any sexual relations whatsoever she became pregnant by the spirit of the timbó and gave birth to a son. When, after six months, she carried the child for the first time to take a bath in the igarapé, she noticed that as soon as she dipped the little boy into the water, the fish died in great numbers around him. When, in the second bath, this phenomenon was repeated, she realized that the boy was the cause and that he was the son of timbó. From then on she no longer bathed him in the igarapé, for fear that all the fish might die, but bathed him on land. When the boy grew older, his relatives used him to kill fish, allowing him to swim a little in the igarapé.

Koch-Grünberg collected an Arekuna legend of a boy who produced the same effects."[11]

A couple of hours [boat trip] above the settlement of Santa Rita an igarapé debouches from the left bank of the Solimões; the old maps give it the name of Quiriá, but today it is called Igarapé da Rita. This name, which it bore even before the founding of Santa Rita in 1870, gave rise to the following story.

In this igarapé there was a Tukuna girl called Rita in Portuguese. One day, after her puberty ceremony, her relatives prepared a solution of timbó in a large basin made from a paxiuba spatulate. Taking the girl, they all went for a turn about the igarapé, where the present homes of Nino and Sebastião are now, and where there is a very deep sink (*poço*), which never dries up. They seated Rita on a horizontal fallen log in the igarapé and washed her with timbó. The fish began to die, and the current carried them off downstream. Everyone followed the prize, leaving Rita seated alone on her log. When they returned she had disappeared, and not the slightest trace of her was ever seen again; hence they were convinced that some immortal had carried her off.

Supplementary ceremony.—After six or eight months, when the vərĕkị's hair has grown again, a supplementary ceremony is celebrated, like the one after the first depilation (see p. 90), and like it called dyɔ-pa'kĕë (to cut the hair across the forehead). The owner of the house, when he wishes to celebrate it, says: "čə'i nə'i ə̃' ča gu'u" ("I shall burn the fleas"), since they believe that, unless this is done, fleas will increase in a disagreeable way. For this feast drinks are also prepared, but a smaller group of guests is invited and no costumes are requested. Uaricánas and seclusion are also lacking.

On this occasion the leftovers from the previous celebration are burned in the center of the house—the masks and fringes but not the tururí cloth of the costumes, which they utilize as mats. The coals of the fire are passed round the heels of those present to prevent them from being attacked by fleas.

Subsequent menstruation.—There are few restrictions for this. Only if the flow is very strong does the menstruating girl retire for a while. The spirits of certain trees such as the kapok—*sumaʌuma* (vəči'ne), which the Tukuna identify with the *curupira* of the Neobrazilians—have the tendency to wound menstruating women with "arrows," even by day; this is why women do not like to stray far from the house yard while menstruating. Contact with menstrual blood makes a man inefficient (l.g., *panéma;* T., ñĕĕị[a]) in hunting and fishing, and even in other activities. A pepper bath is the most efficacious antidote.

[11] Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, 2:70.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [†] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vịta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auẽ'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auẽ'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaĩaré* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auẽ'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auẽ'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auẽ'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pö gị na ãe'i pö ãʊ a'ẽẽ!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue'" and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyuvịkị, but kị means only "person," and in general the term dyu'vịta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[a] arị ma:'ũ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ẽ), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ẽ'pivẽ.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyu'vịta; see above.—Trans.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ë' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian* ta-ë'.—Up to this point the concept of ta-ë' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries.[11] There is another ta-ë', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tị, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u:

ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tị coveted ta-ë' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ë' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realised that ta-na'tị had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tị addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[12]

ta-na'tị was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tị. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [i.g., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tị recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tị in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tị ãũi'u'!" ["ta-na'tị is alive!], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bë:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tị's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tị; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ë''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ë'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tị ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann, tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

[11] Spaniards? See use of the *parrots* in the following legend.
[12] I could learn nothing more of this son.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[14] is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'k], "what we think" (or thought).[15] This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[16] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

dʊẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named dʊẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curanã [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. dʊẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where dʊẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then dʊẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[14] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[15] The word means "judgment"; kʊ hẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[16] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

539 776 [*Pseudomyrma dendroica*] clinging to them in swarms, tying the branches round his body. Thus he climbed up a tree branch that hung over the water's edge and challenged the demon to come and fight him. dyĕ'vaš appeared, gave him a shock like that of an electric eel, *poraquê* [*Gymnotus electricus*, L.] and swallowed him. "It was thus that he swallowed my mother," said tau/čipĕ' to himself. Later, however, dyĕ'vaš' felt such a burning in his stomach from the bites of the fire ants that he vomited up tau/čipĕ'.

Thereupon the hero transformed himself into a large snake and fought with dyĕ'vaš, in spite of all the ray's advice. Lacerating each other with their jaws, they rolled to and fro until tau/čipĕ' who, owing to the ray's magic, could squeeze the harder, succeeded in bursting his adversary.

Because of this the other dyĕ'vaš hated him. tau/čipĕ', in human form, went ashore, where he gathered a large quantity of cicantã resin," with which he smeared the bench [seat] of the great snakes, which got stuck to it and died. Other demons he challenged to combat, battling with them in the form of a snake. They tore at each other with their jaws until he had killed them.

Then he heard it said that somewhere on dry land his elder brother, named pəva'ru, still lived. He sought him out and invited him to be his companion. To give them both equal strength, tau/čipĕ' made his brother a magic belt like the one made by the ray. But precisely because of their magical powers the two became hated by all men. When the two brothers later learned that evil was being spoken of them, they transformed themselves into great snakes, dug under their enemies' dwellings, and undermined the houses so that they sank with all their inhabitants." Thus they killed many people. The survivors waited for an occasion when the two brothers were in their midst and, springing at them with poisoned spears, killed them.

Other demons of the subaquatic world are the tẽnẽnẽ'naa, who have the shape of caimans, of whom the following legend is told.

The End of Maloca Kuyarú[28]

ãu'ča gave birth to a son. Then they [the tribesmen] killed the daughter of tẽnẽnẽ'naa. The father of tẽnẽnẽ'naa appeared and asked her [ãu'ča]: "Where did my dear [daughter] go, O ãu'ča?"

ãu'ča replied: "They killed her; I, however, did not eat of her because my dear [son] here is just born." [She was under restrictions.] Then the tẽnẽnẽ'naa sang the following: "Go, and if it is the truth, O ãu'ča, that you refused her [flesh], there is a sorva tree [*Couma* sp.] and a cicantã tree [*Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.], one in front of the other. Anoint the soles of your feet with cicantã, and then make balls for yourself with burity seeds and still more cicantã, if it is true that you rejected tẽnẽnẽ'naa, O ãu'ča!"

ãu'ča told this to the people, who laughed at her: "ãu'ča is lying because she has a male child on her lap!" Then she remained silent in regard [to the subject]. At midnight the tẽnẽnẽ'naa began to roar. They [the inhabitants] became furious and ran up and down with their spears, but ãu'ča ran in silence. To all sides she threw burity seeds rolled in cicantã and rubbed cicantã on the soles of her feet. She threw the burity seeds in every direction [to lead the demons astray with the smell of cicantã]; those which fell into the igarapé went "Pung!" and the others which she threw went "Pang!" Then she followed those which went "Pang!" and with that escaped. The earth [undermined] split asunder and slid [into the water], and she also went to na:'pi [here the subaquatic world] and there hung up her hammock.

The Culture Heroes: The Immortals

773 In the old days the most bloodthirsty enemy of the demons was the culture hero dyoi', the personage of major luster in Tukuna religion. He is the creator of humanity, the originator of all tribal laws and customs, and the one who invented or

[28] From *Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.

[29] I was shown the spot where this happened, on the left bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, not quite a kilometer above its mouth.

[30] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text. Kuyarú is a lake on the Rio Jacurapá, a tributary of the Rio Içá.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

acquired the most important elements of material culture. At times hard and cruel, he is never the rascally deceiver of humanity represented by the culture heroes of certain other mythologies. Even with his shameless brother, ɛ'pi—a fool, a meddler, and a liar—he is indulgent and helpful, and only once exacts punishment. The Tukuna do not like to call him dyɔi', but give him the title of ta-na'tɨ (“Our Father”), baia' or bu'i, when they do not call him tɛ'gɨne ɲa'pɨɨ' va ya (“He of the right knee”), in contrast to tɔvɛ̈' ɲa'pɨɨ' va ya (“He of the left knee”), the name by which they refer to ɛ'pi.

The Origin of dyɔi' and His Siblings[n]

ʔu'/tapa grew angry with his wife from time to time. Finally, he tied her to a tree. The hornets stung her genitals. A caracara above her cried: “kɔ'-kɔ-kɔ!” ma:'/pana said: “Oh, if you were a man, O caracara, you would untie me!” The caracara transformed himself into a man because of her. He untied her. He rolled the hornets' nest between his palms [to diminish its size]. Then he gave her the hornets' nest. “With this you will be revenged!” said the caracara. ʔu'/tapa recognized her at once; he played on the Panpipes for her: “Who does not recognize this ma:'/pana standing on the point of land!” She tried in vain to surprise him. She crouched at the foot of a *sapopema*, hiding, but ʔu'/tapa recognized her at once. Finally she lost her judgment and ran after him. ma:'/pana threw the hornets' nest at his back. The hornets stung ʔu'/tapa all over his body; he swelled up. Later the swelling from the hornets' stings subsided; only his knees did not reduce in size, and finally he had a fever. Then ʔu'/tapa sat outside in the sun and called his children. “Dear ones, look at what is hurting me so!” he said. They looked. “Papa, it is only a man in your right knee who is planing his blowgun,” said ʔu'/tapa's children, “and another person sewing her purse net!” [See p. 18.] Then they looked at his left knee: “Papa, it is only a man in your other knee who is scraping his spear, and another person weaving her burden basket!”

Then dyɔi' [in the right knee] had finished: “Let us go! I must fish [with the purse net]!” he said. Answered ɛ'pi [in the left knee]: “Let us go! I must spear pigs!” he said. Answered a'jkɨna, ɛ'pi's sister: “Let us go! I must dig manioc!” she said.

ʔu'/tapa Dead and Revived

The four siblings when they emerged from ʔu'/tapa's knees were the size of children five years old, and they immediately began to walk. ʔu'/tapa recovered slowly. After some time he went out alone to fish with timbó, when a jaguar attacked and devoured him. The four brothers and sisters remained in the care of tɔpe'tɨne, ʔu'/tapa's mother, who never left off bewailing the death of her son, but when the children asked why he had been killed, she would answer: “It was ashes that killed him.” Then the children filled a burden basket with ashes, spilling it over themselves, but they did not die. They again asked the grandmother and she replied: “An ambé leaf fell on him.” The children waited beneath an ambé plant until a leaf fell on them, but it killed no one. Only when they were fully grown did tɔpe'tɨne tell them the truth. Then dyɔi' and ɛ'pi made a high corral of acapú trunks and on top of it a platform three times as high as a man, on which they lay down. dyɔi' plucked out one of a'jkɨna's long hairs and interlaced the ends so as to form a circle, which he slowly drew together. Soon, beginning at the north, the earth grew smaller, forcing all the animals to run south and to the corral, where they had to pass by the brothers' platform. One jaguar after another passed, and they asked each one: “By any chance was it you who devoured ʔu'/tapa?” But all replied: “No, the one who did it is still behind me!”

Finally the slayer of ʔu'/tapa arrived. She made a horn from the victim's stomach and on it she was playing: “ʔu'/tapa arɨ tɨeri' duru'ru!”; but seeing the two brothers on the platform, she quickly swallowed the stomach and began to weep and lament: “Oh, my grandchildren! Such a toothache!” Then dyɔi' brought a chain [*sic*] and, showing it to the jaguar, said: “Look at your necklace, grandmother!”

[n] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

that a jacurarɨ́ be cooked, and compelled everyone to taste the broth. Thus each one became aware of the clan to which he belonged. Afterward dyɔi' ordered the members of the two groups to marry between themselves. 539

According to another version, a pot with jacuruxy stew was sent from the upper world by ta-ẽ' for the purpose of differentiating the clans.

The Origin of Languages

The first man caught by dyɔi' was dɔvɨ'. After communication with the upper world was interrupted [see the following tale] he tried to reëstablish it. He called together all the men for a work party in order to pile up earth so that from the top one could reach the upper world. For the feeding of all these people dɔvɨ' had only two hummingbird eggs. The mountain of earth had already reached an enormous height when a certain nyẽ'kaoĉa stole the two eggs and ate them himself. At once no one could understand the speech of his fellows.

When dɔvɨ' discovered the theft and demanded in a loud voice who the thief was, no one understood him, and all cried out in different tongues. At the same time, the mountain of earth subsided, forming the various mountains that still exist today. Because of the lack of understanding among themselves, the men could not undertake the task again, and the tribes left, each in a different direction. dɔvɨ' remained at the spot with the Tukuna, becoming their first chief.

dyɔi' Steals Fire

tɔpe'tʃiʁe, dyɔi''s grandmother [see p. 122] had a foster son whose face and body were all covered with warts, for which reason they called him bɛ̨ĉi-natʃ ["Father of Warts"]. dyɔi' could not stand him and mocked him incessantly. For this reason tɔpe'tʃiʁe took bɛ̨ĉi-natʃ and moved to the upper world, which was still linked to earth by a notched-log ladder by which men could climb and descend at will.

Only tɔpe'tʃiʁe possessed fire. She took it with her to the upper world, and on earth there was none. dyɔi' resolved to steal it. While the Father of Warts was sleeping in a partitioned space, dyɔi' assumed his shape, pretended to be very cold, and asked tɔpe'tʃiʁe to let him get warm at her fire. She consented, and as soon as she had gone out for some task, dyɔi' went to fetch the Father of Warts from his compartment. He waited until a great chunk of kindling was well ablaze, seized it, dealt the Father of Warts a blow in the belly, and fled with the fire. It was some time before the victim was able to call his foster mother. When she learned what had happened, she hunted for the ax in order to cut the log ladder leading to the earth, but, since she could not find the tool at once, dyɔi' had already reached the earth with his firebrand by the time she finally succeeded in cutting the lianas securing the ladder.

According to another version, dyɔi' himself destroyed the ladder because he saw that many people preferred the upper world and were migrating there. "Why do you want to move to the upper world? Your place is here on earth!" he said, and ordered the ladder destroyed. dyɔi' also invented the friction fire sticks of *cupú do matto* wood. [773]

Still another version of the origin of fire is found in the following legend.

The Acquisition of Cultivated Plants

An old woman lived alone and far away from other people. She had a hard time of it, since the Indians of that period did not yet know of sweet manioc. One day she observed some mûva ants carrying a white substance. She took a piece and smelled it. "What an agreeable smell!" she said. She followed the ants until she came to the edge of a pool in the igarapé, where on the bank was a large tree bearing all kinds of sweet manioc fruits. These fell into the water, where they got softened.

She took a piece, placed it in her armpit, and dried it by her own body heat. Afterward she tried the dried substance and liked it. She gathered a large quantity, dried it in the sun, and took it

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

dyoi' Paints the Uariciána

dyoi' had invented the uariciána of paxiubinha wood for the hair-plucking festival of the boy Tyku-kjra', painting it red with carajurú [*Arrabidea chica*]. One of the immortal companions, I don't know which, criticised the painting. "How should I paint it, then?" asked dyoi'. The other explained, "At the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there is a high bank with clays of all colors. It is soft, but you must not touch it with your hands; remove it by thrusting your blowgun into it so that the clay sticks in the bore!" 539

That very evening the two transported themselves to the spot mentioned, where dyoi' thrust his blowgun into all the clays of different colors, each time to the depth of a handbreadth. On returning home, he reamed the clay out with a cleaning rod, and then painted the uariciána anew.

The taboo which surrounds this instrument is concentrated in the appearance of this paint." [784]

The Present Status of dyoi' and o'pi

At last dyoi' and o'pi decided to part, and so they went away—dyoi' to the west and o'pi to the east. But dyoi' could not readily find the west, and at night he secretly reversed the earth so that o'pi remained in the west, while he himself remained in the east. No one ever saw dyoi' again.

A long time ago a Tukuna journeyed to the rising sun, where he arrived at dyoi''s house. He entered but did not succeed in seeing dyoi'. Wherever he looked he saw only his own image, because the walls of the house were made of mirrors. dyoi' sent word for him to go back, since he did not want to see him nor did he wish to be sought out.

Probably this tale has as its underlying basis the visit of some Indian in the mirrored salon of some governmental palace where he was denied the audience requested of the governor. [177]

Version collected in 1929.—In connection with the tale related above "Captain" Felix in 1929 brought to my attention the following episode.

Later, the two brothers began to quarrel and argue over the division of the world, disputing which of them should receive the east and which the west. ipi demanded absolutely that he should go down the Solimões (east) and left for that region with his followers; but while he slept, dyoi' turned the world about so that ipi and his people remained in the west, whereas dyoi' and his people remained in the east, as he had wished. dyoi' lives in the land of the rising sun, beyond the the sea, in a place called mu'ruapi. agutapa and tïtïariui are with him, also, but no mortal can ever reach there. In ancient times a few came close enough to see mu'ruapi from afar, but when they came nearer, everything turned into flowering bushes.

On the left bank of the upper Igarapé de São Jeronymo, almost two days' canoe trip above the farthest Tukuna settlement, there is a very old plantation. Calixto daueru'kj used to call this place bu-ë (from bu, child) because it was believed to have once been the dwelling of ńu'/tapa, where dyoi', o'pi, and their sisters appeared in this world. Generally, however, the Tukuna call this plantation taivegj'ne, which was the name of dyoi''s house. According to the Tukuna, one may still see there the remains of very ancient posts belonging to the house and to the fence with the platform upon which the brothers waited for the jaguar that had devoured ńu'/tapa. 773 778

The place where the two caught the giant caiman was also pointed out to me. Not far above this spot the Igarapé vərë-kj ("Girl Creek") empties from the right. There in ancient times the celebrants of a puberty ceremony once took the virgin to her bath after the depilation, as was the custom. When she dived into the

[2] See legend, "to'ɔ̈ɛ̈n and the Breaking of the Uariciána Taboo."

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
· SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

773 shallow water she disappeared forever without a trace. No one ever learned what became of her; undoubtedly the immortals carried her off.

778 Another girl, at the close of her puberty celebration, declared that she wished to move away from where her parents lived because there she felt a weight pressing on her head. They moved with her to a mountain range where they entered the underworld, but the girl declared that that did not suit her either. Accordingly, they left for dyəi''s abandoned plantation and entered the house through the floor, just as if they were crawling in beneath a mosquito bar. The girl thought it pretty and asserted that she was satisfied since she no longer felt the weight on her head. She is still there today with her festive companions.

Below taivegi'ne there also empties from the right the Igarapé ə̃'varə̃. At its source stands ɛ'pi's house, which bears the name of də̃'i. There tẹku-kịra', son of ɛ'pi, still lives today in the company of many other immortals. Sometimes on a night of full moon one may hear, very far off but yet clearly, the sounds of their merrymaking, but no one ever succeeds in reaching the place. An old Tukuna named Miguel, who for many years was the last inhabitant of Igarapé de São Jeronymo, attempted it once, but in vain. After Miguel another Indian I knew, Cazemiro, tried it again but got drunk, lost his bearings, and finally returned. The Indians are convinced that the immortals will punish with madness anyone who dares to break the taboo of this creek. They believe that dyəi' and ɛ'pi left the hook, with which they angled for the first men, in the water back at the mouth of the ə̃'varə̃; there it was transformed into snakes and rays which guard the entrance. The mouth is now overgrown with vegetation.

The Origin of Old Age and Death

773 This first race of men which dyəi' and ɛ'pi fished for is called ma:'/gi̱ta (from ma:'gi̱, "to throw something from the tip of an elastic wand," and ta, plural suffix) or i̱i'ne (the immortals). They do not die as we do; their descendants, the yuna'ti (mortals), however, live even today in an enchanted state in the region where they were created, or far away to the east with dyəi'.

539 The difference [between the immortals and mortal men] arose in ancient times through the error of a girl who was in seclusion for her puberty festival at the time when dyəi', in the company of the immortals, called for everyone to follow him. The girl did not answer, but shortly after, when the spirit dya: [Old Age] was announcing his coming with shouts of "Vavi'-vavi'-vavi'! eu'i' dya: u:!" she responded, "May dya: come!" dya: entered her cell and, pulling at his hair, stripped off his own skin. Then he took off the girl's skin in the same way and exchanged them. He himself was transformed into a youth, and went off, whistling on his fingers. The girl remained an old, decrepit woman, without strength even to stand up.

Very early in the morning her mother called her, "Daughter! Sweep your cell!" She obeyed, sitting on the floor and slowly pushing before her the açahy-leaf container holding the rubbish. The mother urged her to hurry and finish the chore before the inhabitants of the house should awaken. At last the mother peered into the little room and saw in place of the girl an old crone with a wrinkled skin. The festival was called off, and since then men grow old and die.

There is another story of a vərə̃-ki̱ who responds to the immortals' call:

The Origin of the Lunar Aureole

A virgin was in her seclusion cell. Suddenly she heard immortals entering the house, walking without touching the ground with their feet, and calling, "Vavi'-vavi'-vavi'! eu'i' i̱i'ne u:!" She

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

immediately answered that she wished to become immortal also. Her puberty festival was being celebrated simultaneously with a child's hair-plucking ceremony. Among the guests was also a girl betrothed to mëta'rë.[a] However, she disliked him because he would eat only tree fungi (orelhas de pau). She was enamored of i[w]/tavečine[a] and chased after him wherever he went.

The host called everyone inside to witness the beginning of the virgin's depilation. Only i[w]/tavečine and his paramour remained outside, painting each other with genipapo dye. She merely entered the house for an instant, drank some painuarú, and rejoined her lover. mëta'rë, standing next to the jars containing the beverage, saw her, and said under her breath, "You may go!" The vərëkj' and the other celebrants were seated on top of the tapir hide in the center of the house. The turtleshell drum was sounding, and the guests were dancing. Suddenly the tapir hide began to move, rising into the air. mëta'rë climbed up on the roof to reach it also, but he was too late.

The two lovers outside noticed nothing of what was taking place until suddenly the girl said to i[w]/tavečine, "Listen! The drums are sounding up above!" Lifting her eyes, she saw the celebrants of the festival on the tapir hide already far up in the sky. Weeping, she called to her mother and brothers, who were also on the hide. The brothers threw her the end of a thin liana with a transverse piece of wood lashed to it, commanding her to put her feet on this and hold the liana with her eyes shut. She obeyed, and they began to pull her up to join them. There was only a short distance to go to reach the hide, when she opened her eyes and, seeing how thin the liana was, exclaimed, "The liana is going to break!" Instantly it broke, and she fell to the ground, at once turning into a bird called mai'yu, and flying away to cry forever "mai'! mai'!" ("Brother.") Even today she may be heard thus calling her brother. i[w]/tavečine also was transformed into a small hawk, and flew off.

mëta'rë broke the jars, and the painuarú, which was full of worms, spilled upon the ground. Ants and all other creatures that shed their skins licked it up, and for this reason they never grow old. Afterward, mëta'rë turned into a bird [japú] and flew after the others to the upper world. The tapir hide and the celebrants of the festival seated upon it may still be seen today when the moon has a ring around it."[b]

According to another version the lovers and the guests at the festival are visible in the Pleiades.

In the old days whoever wished to become immortal submitted to a diet of maize and Coleoptera larvae and, when he bathed, rubbed his entire body with burity fruits. Then one day in the jungle he would meet an unknown boy who would bid him prepare for a feast on such and such a day. On the appointed day, in the afternoon, aquatic birds of all species would appear and perch in the trees near the house. At nightfall the dance would begin inside the sealed house. Some time later an immortal in human form would knock at the door. They must let him enter and conduct him to the jars, where he would give the host a small gourd containing the immortals' drink, yita'kį čį̈, which must be mixed in with the festive beer (chicha), because to become one of the immortals one must partake of their beverage.

At dawn all the immortals would enter, dance, drink, and choose consorts, the unmarried mortals doing the same; sometimes even married couples would separate in order to join the immortals. At daybreak the spirits, while dancing, would conduct all the celebrants outside the house, and after some fifteen paces would command them to close their eyes. When they opened them again, they would already be far away in the abode of the immortals.

[a] Identified in the lingua geral with Jaboti or Tortoise of the legends.
[b] A small, red-legged falconid which feeds on small birds.
[c] Other exploits of mëta'rë are related in the legends, "mëta'rë and ə'vį̈kjaa," "mëta'rë and vai'či'kį," and "mëta'rë and tu'čuru."

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

X. VARIOUS LEGENDS

Legends of Cataclysms

773 The belief in dyoi', e'pi, and the immortals is in a way associated with the idea of cataclysms, past and future, and of the Mountains of Salvation, vaipĮ' or pa:'ru.

World Fire and Deluge

539 This happened after dyoi' and his companions had left for the east. The earth began to move in the west, and at once men began to die. Fire burst forth from the ground and came steadily nearer; one could hear its roaring. The immortals, and with them those who had answered their call, thus becoming immortal, left for Mount vaipĮ', which they say is below Manáos, I don't know exactly where. The slopes of this mountain constantly drip water [na·va'i, it is wet], so the world fire did not reach it.

In the west a girl with her little sister had been left alone in the seclusion cell. When the earth moved, only their room stayed firm, and, while all the others lay dying, the two sisters remained alive. They climbed a tall genipapo tree at the edge of the house yard, covering their faces with wild-chocolate hulls to protect them from the smoke. When they removed the hulls a little, they saw all around them the charred trees of the once-virgin jungle sinking below the earth, which had become completely soft.

In the immediate vicinity of the house, however, everything remained as it had been. Finally the fire burned out. For months the two sisters ate maize that had been stored in the house. Then the *camapú* [*Physalis* sp.] began to appear and produced fruit at the edge of the clearing: the two sisters gathered and ate the berries. While thus engaged, the younger sister went too far astray and sank beneath the still-soft earth; behind her, flames and smoke sprang up. The elder sister was now all alone and wept despondently. Then she heard a noise: it was the water, which, bursting forth from the ground and rapidly increasing, flooded everything.

A large blue butterfly [*Morpho menelaus*] came to the girl, saying that surely she must also die now. But, through magic he made the girl's body light[1] and then ordered her to hold on to his abdomen while he attempted to fly with her. But she failed to do so, and the flood was already entering the house. Then the butterfly commanded the girl, painted red with urucú, to imitate the motions of the dragonfly in flight; and so with the butterfly's assistance she at last managed to fly away and escape to where dyoi' lived. When the deluge reached Mount vaipĮ', the mountain, with the immortals' dwelling on its top, grew in height so that they were preserved from the waters.

The Deluge

An Indian once owned a dog. One day the animal began to speak in the human language, saying that there would be a great flood; that he, the dog, was going to Mount vaipĮ' and his master had better accompany him if he wished to save himself. The master, however, did not wish to go, for he did not know where the dog was going to lead him. Then the animal advised him to have a great canoe ready to save himself and his family in the hour of the flood. So saying, the dog departed for vaipĮ'.

The waters burst boiling out of the earth and flooded the entire surface. The Indian and his family embarked in the canoe that had been prepared and moored to a tree by a very long liana. However, the waters steadily rose, and the current pulled the canoe this way and that, so that they were obliged to lengthen the liana repeatedly and had by then long lost track of where they were. But finally they landed on Mount vaipĮ', where they remained until the waters subsided. They abandoned their canoe on the mountain—where, it is said, it may still be seen today—and, guided by the lengthened vine, returned to their former home.

773 177 The canoe on Mount vaipĮ' is obviously an element from Christian mythology and apparently is the only Christian motif in the Tukuna cataclysmic mythology.

[1] See the legend of ẽimĮdyoĩ', pp. 148 ff.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

since even the dove motif, which so easily penetrates foreign mythologies, is not found in the Tukuna legends.

Legends of Celestial Bodies and Related Phenomena

The sun.—The slight importance the Indians attach to celestial bodies is worthy of note. Of the sun they told me that it was hot to the point of charring anyone who approached it, and that its headdress was a crown of red macaw tail feathers similar to that used today by a virgin at her puberty festival. I have seen the sun represented in this fashion three times, by a mask with a face carved in wood and with human, not demoniacal, features. There is a legend called "The Canoe of the Sun" (ɨakɨ'-ve'i-ŋ), but, try as I might, I did not succeed in recording more than a fragment. There is no longer anyone who can recite the entire story.

The Canoe of the Sun

A solitary youth was fishing when the Sun arrived in a canoe and asked him if he had caught anything. The boy answering in the negative, the Sun invited him to join him, since they should have caught something by this time. The youth sat in the prow while the Sun steered. The Sun asked him which was the "Pathway of the Sun." Thus the youth realized that he was in the Sun's company, although the Sun had made the boy insensible to the heat. They paddled along. The boy thought that they were still paddling down here [on the earth] but they were already up there [in the sky]. A pirarucú this long [1 m.] appeared. The Sun seized the fish, threw it into the canoe, and baked it with his heat.

Some time later they halted in order to eat lunch in the canoe. The youth finished his share first. The Sun invited him to eat more, but the boy was obliged to decline with thanks. The Sun ordered him to bend his head forward, and then slapped him on the back of the head. At once a great number of cockroaches fell out of the boy. "That was the reason that you felt stuffed," said the Sun. The boy regained his appetite. They ate the entire fish. The Sun collected the scales and bones, put the fish together again, and threw it alive into the water.

The shaman Geraldo sent the soul of the murdered sorcerer u'iru to the "Canoe of the Sun" to be burned.

The moon and stars.—Lunar eclipses are caused by the moon's meeting the demon vẹ'kɨča of the Jaguar clan, who battles with her. The word "vẹ'kɨča" is used for a hook made of a special wood in the form of an N, from which household implements (especially kitchen utensils) are suspended. The vẹ'kɨča of the heavens is Orion. The story of the terrestrial vẹ'kɨča and the incident which justifies his name of "hook" is related in the legend of čimɨdyuẽ' (pp. 148 ff.). If the jaguar in the eclipse should kill the moon, mankind would die; for this reason it is necessary that people aid the moon, scaring away her adversary with as much noise as possible.

I myself witnessed an attempt of this sort during the eclipse of August 25 and 26, 1942. As soon as the Indians were aware of the phenomenon—directly after the eclipse began—an alarm broke out that spread from house to house, up and down the igarapé, reaching to the inhabitants of the banks of the Solimões. Some beat with paddles on the keels of overturned, beached canoes; others belabored with the backs of their machetes a large plank resting on a support; others shot off firearms. Nino çvẽnɨ'kɨ, in whose house I was staying, seriously explained to his children what was taking place. The noise continued until the moon was completely free of the earth's shadow.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The jaguar bit and clawed the anteater's arm, but the latter did not die of the wounds. "Are you sure that your heart is in your arm?" asked the jaguar finally. "Certainly," answered the anteater, "and where is your heart?" "In my breast," the jaguar admitted. Hearing this, the anteater tore open the jaguar's chest with his claws and killed him. Then with his long tongue he sucked out the jaguar's liver.

On clear nights one may still see starred in the sky the fight between the two and the anteater's final victory. The bodies of the two contestants are formed by two black rifts ("Coalsack") in the Milky Way, in the constellations of Scorpius and the Southern Cross. The double star of the first forms the jaguar's eyes. When the constellation becomes visible, the anteater is lying on its back, while the jaguar is standing over it; afterward the shapes of the two animals rise and, when the constellation sets, the jaguar is on its back under the anteater (fig. 13).

Other beliefs.—The shooting stars are chasing after their sweethearts. It is well not to speak of them, or one might do the same thing. Children should not speak of moving clouds because they might be kidnaped by them. If a cloud in human shape lowers its head toward the observer, that person will soon die.

Legends of Demons and Monsters

The Monster ñaiva'

In the old days, in a battle between the Tukuna and the Omágua near Igarapé do São Jeronymo, an Omágua shaman named ñaiva' was gravely wounded but succeeded in escaping and hid himself beneath the bank. When the other Omágua departed, he was left behind, and he lived for a long time in a subterranean lair called vai'pi, the entrance of which was under the water. It had a tall, hollow paxiuba-palm trunk for a chimney, so that no one in the jungle could spot the smoke from his fire. This place was next to an old cemetery on the right bank of the Igarapé do São Jeronymo, just below the mouth of Igarapé a:'ra-pana. When the Tukuna children bathed and played in the creek, ñaiva' would sneak toward them under the water, pierce them with his lance, and carry the children off to his lair to devour them. Once, a man was watching the children bathe; suddenly, in the still water he saw ñaiva' emerge from his cave, kill the children, and drag them inside. He at once called together all the inhabitants of the vicinity. They barred the cave's exit with stakes, and ñaiva' died of starvation in his lair. At first, however, they could hear him screaming, "ku čičí'! ku čičí'!" ["I shall kill you!"]; then he died. When they opened the cave they found it full of children's bones.

mẽta'rẽ and ɔ'vɨkɨna

The sorcerer dɨ'vẽnɨ̃ fed himself by plucking out men's eyes at night and eating them. He also ate the eyes of a woman in the last stages of pregnancy who lived by herself. When the blind woman felt the first pangs of childbirth, ɔ'vɨkɨna heard her screams. ɔ'vɨkɨna had a great number of daughters of all ages, but not one son. She ran to the side of the parturient, without the other woman's being aware of it, and awaited the birth. As soon as the child was born, the sightless mother felt its body and verified that it was a boy. When she laid him down beside her, ɔ'vɨkɨna stole him, substituting her youngest daughter. When the blind woman again picked up her newborn child, she realized that it was a girl and was greatly astonished. ɔ'vɨkɨna carried the boy away. She dropped medicine of the dɨ'gɨse plant in his eyes and rubbed him with it. Thus he became immortal and grew up to be very wise.

He was already the size of an ordinary child of seven when, one day, wishing ɔ'vɨkɨna to give him his treatment, he peeped through his fingers, with which she had ordered him to cover his eyes, and saw her behind the house post making gestures as if separating something. She removed from the interior of the post a little pot containing the dɨ'gɨna. One of her daughters had already told him that ɔ'vɨkɨna was not his mother and where his real mother could be found. By the same motions ɔ'vɨkɨna had used he managed to open the post also. He removed the little pot, turned

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

539 cries at the onset of summer]. When the elder brother again came to visit him, the younger said "Now I shall fly to the mountains of the Lower Amazon! ẽa/vina vɔ:'ɔ! tə-tə-tə-tə vɔ:'ɔ!" ["My sister-in-law, plant! Plant!"]. With this, he rose and flew away.

[173] There are noteworthy differences in the version of this legend given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. The explanation of the mutilation of Orion's leg is quite different from that given me by my informants in 1941 and 1942. (See legend, "The Errors of čimịdyuə̃'.")

wĩkĩča (Orion)[a]

Two brothers found themselves deep in the jungle at the foot of a tree where there was a basket containing cooked potatoes. The elder of the two passed it by, but the younger could not resist temptation and ate one of the tubers. That night as they slept, the demon nguri [(?) unknown to my other informants], who owned the basket, came through the jungle shouting, "Where is my potato?" And from the younger brother's stomach came the reply, "I am here!"

The elder brother sprang up and tried to wake the other, but the younger slept as though dead, not even stirring when the former poked him with a blazing firebrand. Then the elder hid in the left of the shelter, while nguri came and tore off a leg from the sleeping brother, taking it with him to devour. After his departure, the sleeper awoke and, seeing the bloody stump, exclaimed, "Brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" The other answered, "It was not bats but the demon nguri, whose potatoes you ate!"

Then the younger asked his brother to make him a club and, carried on the latter's back, left the shelter. While they were going through the jungle, an agouti ran in front of them, and at once the younger brother asked to be let down. He hopped after the agouti—on one leg only, but just as quickly as he could have done with two—and killed the little creature with his club. He cut off a small piece of meat from the kill, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother. After they had gone on a while, a deer sprang up, which the cripple killed in the same fashion. Again he cut off only a small piece of the game, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother.

When they arrived home, his [the younger brother's] wife was vexed at the smallness of the pieces, but her husband ordered her to erect a huge smoking-grill with a bonfire kindled under it. Then he unwrapped the meat and threw the bits to the woman; instantly they became so large that they completely covered her.

Afterward he ordered that they carry him again to the jungle, where this time he killed a tapir. He waited beside the kill for the buzzards to come, and when they had all gathered, he said to the king of the buzzards, "I killed this game for you, but now you must take me with you to the upper world!" Then the buzzards took him with them to the upper world, where he can still be seen today: wĩkĩča (Orion).

The Family Transformed into Jaguars

An old man set out with his wife and several other men, I know not whither—I think toward the underworld. The old man taught the others a magical trick: whenever he shot an arrow high into the trunk of a tururi tree,[b] a white strip of bast the breadth of a palm would detach itself and peel down the trunk all the way to the ground. Each person selected a piece, stretched it, and painted it with black spots in imitation of a jaguar's hide, thus making himself a jaguar costume. Putting these costumes on, they turned into jaguars and, as such, coursed through the jungle, killing and eating people; but other Indians discovered the secret and considered how to kill them. Once the old man in jaguar form attacked a group of hunters, but was killed by one of them. His wife overheard them talking about the one who had done the killing, and she resolved to avenge her husband's death. Dressed in her jaguar costume, she pursued the slayer and tore him to pieces.

The old woman's son had two children. One day she went with some hunters to a spot in the jungle where there were some *envicira* trees [*Xylopia* sp.?] on the fruit of which toucans were

[a] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 191.
[b] The inner bark of this tree (*Couratari* sp.?) furnishes the material for masquerade costumes.

[314]
[287]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

The culture heroes.—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tànáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapii-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Maváca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nuí, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nuí. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegíne, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iíne, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunatí) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iíne, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

Messianism.—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be repeated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may